particularly those serving the suburbs. But its character changed. 'Cheer Boys Cheer', written in 1895, is representative. Its heroes and heroines are not ordinary folk, but titled ladies and gentlemen; the lowest rank referred to is that of sergeant, and he plays a minor part. The plot is as follows. The heroine and her party stumble upon a Matabele uprising in South Africa whereupon their Boer guides 'slink off'. Lady Hilyard announces 'We are Englishwomen, sir, and do not fear any danger they would skulk from' and boldly undertakes a night ride to warn the cavalry of the impending danger to a small group of soldiers including the hero. This brave band is attacked in a scene called 'The Last Stand' during which the ammunition runs out, at which point all including the wounded rise to sing 'God Save the Queen'. The Matabele respectfully cease firing as they sing, but in spite of the respite the two rivals for the heroine are the only survivors when the cavalry arrive. The right man lives. The other gallantly expires.[70]

Military spectacle and patriotic expression are infused in 'Cheer Boys Cheer' with a more belligerent nationalism than Harry Hallyard's freeing of black slaves by waving the Union Jack over them. Black 'natives' are now enemies to be coerced under the authority of the 'Great White Mother' and even white men in the far-flung Empire cannot always be trusted, viz. the 'skulking' Boer guides. The image is of Britain beleaguered and defensive.

It could be that events had overtaken the liberating melodramas played in the 1870s. The prolonged Sudan War (1882–98) and the restlessness of the Boers suggested that both black and white inhabitants of some parts of the Empire were not in fact experiencing freedom under the British flag. The contradiction between the ideal of British liberty and the reality of coercion in the maintenance of an empire which undoubtedly brought benefits to British workers in the form of trade and employment, weighed heavily on the minds of some working-class leaders, notably Robert Blatchford, editor of the *Clarion* in the 1900s.[71] But even if the particular interpretation of imperialism embodied in the Jack Tar melodramas was politically outflanked, it is undeniable that it was also eclipsed by the disappearance after 1890 of the majority of the specific halls in which it had been performed.

At the same time that the scripts of the black inhabitants of Empire were being rewritten in melodrama, the role of the blacked-up minstrel on the music-hall stage was changing. Ragged and weird, Jim Crow, originating in the 1840s, was linked with slave life and liberation from it, and lived on in the negro minstrels and slave melodramas performed to working-class audiences in the 1870s.[72] But they were supplanted by another interpretation of the same theme fostered in the socially mixed halls. The beautifully dressed 'coon' personified by G. H. Chirgwin 'The White-eyed Kaffir', Eugene Stratton, and G. H. Elliott 'The Chocolate-Coloured Coon', became fashionable in the 1880s. He lived in an already liberated land of which he sang in idylls, peopled by smiling coal-black mammies, piccaninnies and faithful Lilies of Laguna, against a background of silv'ry moons, buttermilk and little wooden huts.[73] While in part the image derived from the ending of American slavery by the victory of the North in the American Civil War in 1864, Stratton, Chirgwin, Elliot and others did not pretend to be anything but British. Possibly they represented an idealised future for the British male emigrant to the colonies, be he artisan or administrator.

The numerous nostalgic and romantic songs about emigration may have appealed across classes to an experience common within families in the second half of the nineteenth century, for example Leo Dryden's 'The Miner's Dream of Home', Tom Costello's 'I've made up my mind to sail away' and Fred Barnes' 'Black Sheep of the Family'. The patriotism of these songs was not bombastic or coercive like that of the jingo songs previously quoted, but was above all personal, epitomised by the longing to return 'to my own native land, To my friends and the old folks at home' of 'The Miner's Dream of Home'.[74]

The representation of the ordinary soldier or sailor on the music hall stage, after the disappearance of Jack Tar, marked an elision of this personal patriotism with jingoism. Songs celebrating the heroism of individual soldiers and sailors had traditionally been popular, particularly at times of intensive recruitment of volunteers. For example, while Macdermott roared out 'We've got the men' to mixed audiences in the spring of 1878, 'the men' themselves were singing 'Let me like a Soldier Fall', 'The Soldier's Chorus', 'The Dying Soldier', 'Think of me Darling', 'The Soldier Tired', 'Saved from the Storm' and 'The Tar's Farewell', in class-specific places of entertainment, such as working-men's clubs.[75] But in the 1890s a trio of rather different war songs became popular. In 'Soldiers of the Queen', 'Sons of the Sea' and 'The Absent Minded Beggar', the celebration of the ordinary soldier and sailor was wedded to bombastic indignation that other nations should dare to challenge the time-honoured 'Queen of the Sea'.

'Soldiers of the Queen' was written in 1881 by Leslie Stuart for Albert Christian to sing in the West End halls. Its theme of a sleeping nation awoken by the impudent and dishonourable threats of others echoes spectacles like 'Britannia':

> War clouds gather over every land
> Our treaties threaten'd East and West.
> Nations we've shaken by the hand
> Our honoured pledges try to test.
> They may have thought us sleeping

Thought us unprepared
Because we have our party wars
But Britons all unite
When they're called to fight
The battle for old England's common cause.

The chorus then departs from earlier jingo songs in asserting that the common soldier is the maker of the fabric of the Empire:

So when we say that England's master,
Remember who has made her so . . .
It's the soldiers of the Queen, my lads,
Who've been, my lads, who've seen, my lads,
In the fight for England's glory, lads,
Of its world wide glory let us sing.
And when we say we've always won,
And when they ask us how it's done
We'll proudly point to ev'ryone
Of England's soldiers of the Queen.[76]

In the specific context of the Boer War the song became more widely known. It was sung in and out of music halls and by soldiers in action.[77]

A second song, 'Sons of the Sea', written for Arthur Reece to sing at the Diamond Jubilee in 1897, contains a similar jingoistic contempt for foreign competitors and assertion of national superiority coupled with the celebration of the ordinary sailor:

Have you heard the talk of foreign pow'rs
Building ships increasingly?
Do you know they watch this isle of ours?
Watch their chance unceasingly?
Have you heard the millions they will spend
Strengthening their fleets and why?
They imagine they can break or bend
The nation that has often made them fly.
But one thing we possess, they forget, they forget
The lads in blue they've met, often met, often met.
Sons of the Sea! All British born!
Sailing in ev'ry ocean. Laughing foes to scorn.
They may build their ships, my lads,
And they think they know the game,
But they can't build boys of the bulldog breed
Who made old England's name.[78]

Thirdly, Rudyard Kipling contributed his own song on the theme of the ordinary man's contribution to imperial defence, 'The Absent Minded Beggar'. Whereas the others quoted were politically generalised, this was specifically located in the issue of the Boer War, and was intended as a fund-raiser for the troops and their families. The stereotype it tried to

create was one of the young idealistic Tommy who had dropped everything (including young wives, or possibly girlfriends, with families on the way) to go out and 'hammer Paul' while the rest of the country merely talked about Kruger. It was deliberately populist in the sense of trying to weld together different sections of the population. But like the other two songs, it emphasised the soldier's position as a worker in the Empire. The chorus of the second verse went:

Cook's son – Duke's son – son of a belted Earl –
Son of a Lambeth publican – it's all the same today!
Each of 'em doing his country's work
(and who's to look after the girl?)
Pass the hat for your credit's sake,
and pay-pay-pay.[79]

'Doing his country's work' meant, of course, uncritical participation in a coercive imperial policy. It is not surprising that on hearing such songs in the places of popular entertainment that had become dominant by the time of the Boer War, J. A. Hobson became convinced of the 'inversion' and corruption of working-class patriotism.

Tommy Atkins, who was to the common soldier after 1815 what Jack Tar had been to the sailor since the eighteenth century, became the subject of numerous songs. His first appearance on the popular stage seems to have been in 'A Gaiety Girl', a musical comedy of 1894, performed under George Edwardes' auspices at the Prince of Wales Theatre. The song conjured up a picture of Tommy loyally fighting for the Empire wherever he might be sent:

And whether he's on India's coral strand,
Or pouring out his blood in the Soudan,
To keep our flag aflying, he's a doing and a dying,
Ev'ry inch of him a soldier and a man.[80]

In the period 1900–18 he was romanticised and, usually, depoliticised. For example, the earlier of two songs entitled 'Tommy Atkins you're all right' (published in 1890) continued the earlier association of the military uniform with virility and sex appeal.

Tommy Tommy with your heart so big and warm
Don't he look a picture in his dandy uniform,
Tommy Atkins all the girls are on your track,
Tommy, Tommy you're the pride of Union Jack.[81]

The other, written during the First World War, in 1916, sentimentalised Tommy's inevitable separation from his sweetheart, whose parting words were:

Goodbye Tommy Atkins you can fight on land or sea
Goodbye Tommy Atkins just send a kiss to me

When you reach old Berlin city give a cheer with all your might.
You are all true blue and we're proud of you.
Tommy Atkins you're all right.[82]

The celebration of the soldier and sailor in these songs was wholly masculine, and if women were visible at all, they were in passive roles, as objects of attraction or as dependants left behind, needing support or waiting for news. The same was true of two other widely-sung sentimental war songs of the time, 'Break the News to Mother' (1898) and 'Goodbye Dolly Gray' (1900).[83] Women had been given a more active role in melodrama. They were frequently depicted as adventurers themselves, prepared to don male disguises in order to accompany their loved ones in the rigours of 'life on the ocean wave',[84] a tradition not forgotten, as we have seen, in Lady Hilyard's heroism in the melodrama 'Cheer Boys Cheer'.

The spirited young woman patriot did make an appearance on the music-hall stage, though now she put on men's clothing not as a disguise that was part of the act, but as an impersonation. The earliest was probably Bessie Bonehill, who sang 'Here Stands a Post' by the patriotic songwriter, Clement Scott, and 'The Old Tattered Flag', dressed as a sailor boy and with a war-scarred Union Jack as her main prop.[85] Bonehill, who performed in the 1870s and '80s belonged in the 'principal boy' pantomime tradition of women being better equipped to play boys than boys themselves. In the 1900s a trio of women presented full grown men 'in miniature', and two in particular, Vesta Tilley and Hetty King, chose military or naval dress as their favourite style. The preoccupation of their best known songs, 'Jolly good Luck to the Girl Who Loves a Soldier' first sung by Tilley in 1907, and 'All the Nice Girls Love a Sailor' sung by King in 1909, was not with the objectives of military or naval power, whether liberation or domination, but with the life and physical attractions of the soldier or sailor as such.[86] In these songs patriotism was completely personal, wholly invested in the individual represented, and it was thereby free of jingoism, if not of racism (e.g. 'And you can trust a sailor, He's a white man all the while').[87] It was said to be their close observation and careful portrayal of the uniform and mannerisms of servicemen of different ranks and regiments, coupled with the romance and curiously inverted sex appeal with which they imbued the role, which earned the male impersonators their popularity.[88] More significantly, perhaps, such performances allowed these women to step across the sexual divide of Edwardian society into the male preserve of militarism, now such a vital facet of imperialism. Their unusual genre (*female* impersonators have been much more common in popular entertainment) serves to underline the masculine identity of late Victorian and Edwardian popular imperialism.

Throughout the period 1870–1914 there was also a strand of comic

patriotism in music hall songs, which in some cases bordered on satire, though always of a light-hearted kind. For example, in 1878 Henry Pettitt guyed Hunt's 'By Jingo' in the following song, sung by Herbert Campbell.

Newspapers talk of Russian hate
Of its ambition tell,
Of course they want a war because
It makes the papers sell.
Let all the politicians
Who desire to help the Turk
Put on the uniform themselves
And go and do the work.
I don't want to fight
I'll be slaughtered if I do,
I'll change my togs, I'll sell my kit,
I'll pop my rifle too,
I don't like the war, I ain't a Briton true
And I'll let the Russians have Constantinople.[89]

Campbell performed at some of the same halls as Macdermott. One can only speculate about how audiences responded to Campbell's apparent rejection of jingoism. It was, of course, part of music-hall tradition to unite opposites in a single bill, by for example including the toff songs of a 'lion comique' with songs celebrating the misfortunes of working-class life, like Marie Lloyd's 'My Old Man said Follow the Van', and it is possible that, aware that Macdermott's song was strongly partisan, proprietors may have included Campbell's song to appease those in the mixed audience who did not care for 'By Jingo'. In any case, Campbell made a speciality of 'take offs' of successful songs.[90] Further, audiences may have understood and appreciated the professional rivalry which had prompted Pettitt's parody. He had written one of Macdermott's earlier successes, 'If Ever there was a Damned Scamp', but thereafter received no commissions.[91] Lastly, while Pettitt's song is anti- jingo, it laughs as much at the character who is going to pawn his rifle because he does not want to be slaughtered, as at the newspapers and politicians who are keen on creating war. It does not strike a blow at imperialism, and it is a send-up rather than a critique of militarism.

In comparison, the satire of broadside ballads published earlier in the century was more incisive, a point which Laurence Senelick's research supports. For example, the songs 'Ben Battle' and 'Thirteen Pence a Day', both published as broadside ballads, were sung at working-class free-and-easies and saloons between 1800 and 1860. 'Thirteen Pence a Day' was an ironic exhortation to young men to enlist:

Come and be a soldier lads, march, march, away.
Don't you hear the fife and drum, march, march, away.

Come to the battlefield make the enemy to yield,
Come and lose your eyes and limbs, for thirteen pence a day.

In the song the audience is told that the real meaning of 'honour' and 'glory' is that you must shoot 'men you never knew, who never did you harm', that you will have no alternative but to forget your wives and children 'when you're dead and rotten', and that it is the height of foolishness 'to fight for kings and queens'.[92] In contrast, Alfred Lester's 'Conscientious Objector's Lament' and Wilkie Bard's 'When the Bugle Calls', written between 1870 and 1900 do not contain any critique of power and its consequences, but merely send up natural cowardice. For example Bard's chorus goes:

When the bugle calls we shall march to war
And there's not a man will fear it.
I don't care how soon the bugle calls
So long as – I don't hear it.

In similar vein Lester's song contains the verse:

Call out the Boys of the Old Brigade,
Who made old England free.
Call out my mother, my sister and my brother
But for God's sake don't send me.[93]

Another parody, written by Major H. Corbyn during the Boer War and apparently popular with the troops, develops the same theme:

Riding in the ammunition van,
Amidst the shot and shell I've been.
While my comrades fought,
(As comrades ought)
I was nowhere to be seen.
I was covered over with the Flag,
Listening to the din and strife
When the fight was o'er, out once more,
And that's how I saved my life.[94]

In this, as in the others, the keynote is that England's power is justified and war is right (comrades 'ought' to fight), but that there is humour in the understandable desire to avoid it. Many of the songs popular with the troops both in outposts of Empire and also in Flanders in the First World War, celebrated and consoled ordinary soldiers and sailors in a not dissimilar way, treating patriotism with humour rather than with the serious sentiment characteristic of jingo songs. 'It's a long way to Tipperary' is one of the best known.[95] First sung in 1912 as the tale of an Irishman's visit to London, it was revived on the music-hall stage by Florrie Ford as a marching song in 1914. As Christopher Pulling points out, it was the line 'Good-bye, Piccadilly; Farewell, Leicester Square' which appealed to the troops, 'the majority of whom cared little how far it was to Tipperary'.[96] 'Pack Up Your Troubles' sung by Florrie Ford and published in 1918, is one of the most obviously consoling, concerning the diminutive Private Perks 'with his smile – his funny smile', whose role in Flanders and at home is to urge his fellows to:

Pack up your troubles in your old kit bag, and smile, smile, smile, –
While you've a lucifer to light your fag,
Smile, boys, that's the style, –
What's the use of worrying?
It never was worth while, So
Pack up your troubles in your old kit bag, and smile, smile, smile.[97]

Underlying the comforting good cheer is a message counselling political apathy.

The jingoist content of a song about Tommy Atkins written in 1917 is relatively unusual. 'Tommy Atkins saved his Empire from the Hun' celebrates the individual Tommy, 'the man behind the bay'net and the gun', who will defend the Empire 'till his numbers fall to "nil" ', and also asserts imperial unity: Australia and Canada are depicted as coming forward willingly to help.[98] This song harks back, through 'Sons of the Sea' and 'Soldiers of the Queen' to the jingo spectacles of the 1880s, while admitting more than they do the grimness and carnage involved in defending the Empire. It is possible that this song was more popular with those experiencing war vicariously at home, than with servicemen themselves, during the First World War.[99] Several authors suggest that there was a growing dislike of any form of patriotic entertainment among the troops. Peter Honri writes:

'Tommy-on-leave' wanted above all else to see glamour – light and colour and girls. 'If you were the only girl in the world', as sung by George Robey and Violet Loraine, provided for those who were on a few hours' leave from the horrors of the trenches the escapism they sought'.[100]

In this context the commercial success of pre-war developments like the revue and the bioscope was assured.

What can one conclude from this discussion of the versions of imperialism presented in places of popular entertainment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? One is confronted not with a linear development, but with interaction between different genres embodied in changing institutions. However, some periodisation is possible. The nautical, military and slave melodramas played to working-class audiences largely disappeared with the institutions in which they had been performed, after 1890. All the same, some elements of melodrama carried on, through the 'coons', and the soldiers and sailors of music hall and theatre of variety. What was lost was the message that the goal of British power was freedom.

Instead the virtuous British serviceman was either a jingo shouldering the responsibilities of Empire in sketches and revues of the 1880s and 1890s or he was a humorous hero in comic patriotic songs of the 1900s and the First World War. There was no anti-imperialism. Criticism was muted; parodies were self mocking.

What can one say about the audiences which watched these types of entertainment? The development towards a 'mass' audience, in the sense of a socially mixed rather than homogeneous one was extremely important.[101] With it went fewer opportunities for audiences to participate in, and actually shape, the performances played to them. Accommodated in fixed seating at graded prices they were expected to watch, applaud, and at the most to join in the occasional chorus, a tendency reinforced by the advent of the sketch, the revue and, ultimately, film. Of course proprietors had to take into account as a matter of commercial reality what those paying to go to music halls or theatres of variety indicated they liked. But this was not a simple issue, since proprietors were investing in entertainment which had to appeal to the different elements comprising mixed audiences, and in addition they had to take into account the preference of the licensing authorities for the avoidance of political debate after 1890. Uncritical support for the monarch, the Empire and the government of the day was not, however, considered 'political'. Choice of such themes was reinforced by the fact that proprietors of large halls, such as those represented by the Music Hall Proprietors' Protection Society, were themselves inclined towards conservatism, a political position reinforced by their opposition both to temperance, a liberal cause, and more specifically to Liberal or Radical local authorities whose attempts to curb music halls represented a threat to their investments.

The prohibition on political debate on the music hall stage, in addition to the need to strike a compromise with the mixed audience, may help to explain why, by the time of the First World War, the focus of the patriotic songs of the music-hall and theatre-of-variety stage had shifted away from power as an abstract concept. It may inadvertently have muted jingoism, as well as stifling criticism. It was more acceptable all round to focus on the everyday life and virility of servicemen, than to celebrate them as pillars of the Empire. However the commercial success of the patriotic themes which proprietors, song writers and artists selected from the strands of tradition here described during the period 1870–1914, does not support Senelick's view that there was a decline in music hall's political influence, nor does it betoken the 'indifference' towards Empire which Price attributed to the working class during the Boer War. On the contrary it suggests that patriotism and Empire continued to be highly marketable products in the world of popular entertainment, for all that the packaging changed over time.

Notes

1 The source of the quote is W. J. MacQueen-Pope, *The Melodies Linger On: The Story of Music Hall*, London 1950, 185. Rudyard Kipling was, of course, one of these who approved of music-hall patriotism. See *Something of Myself for my friends known and unknown*, London 1937.

2 J. A. Hobson, *The Psychology of Jingoism*, London, 1901, 1, 3, 9, 3.

3 Richard Price, *An Imperial War and the British Working Class: Working-class Attitudes and Reactions to the Boer War 1899–1902*, London 1972, 176.

4 Price, *An Imperial War*, and Richard N. Price, 'Society, status and jingoism: the social roots of lower middle class patriotism, 1870–1900', in G. Crossick (ed.), *The Lower Middle Class in Britain 1870–1914*, London 1977.

5 Price, *An Imperial War*, 175, n. 150; Price, 'Society, status and jingoism', 95.

6 Price, *An Imperial War*, 238–9.

7 Hugh St Claire Cunningham, 'British public opinion and the eastern question 1877–1878; University of Sussex DPhil, 1969, 245; see also Henry Pelling, *Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain*, London 1968, 87–8.

8 Laurence Senelick, 'Politics as entertainment: Victorian music hall songs', *Victorian Studies*, XIX, No. 2, December 1975, 156 and 180.

9 Senelick, 'Politics as entertainment', 155 and 180.

10 For a more detailed discussion of the development of music hall, see Penelope Summerfield, 'The Effingham Arms and the Empire: deliberate selection in the evolution of music hall in London', in Eileen and Stephen Yeo (eds), *Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590–1914*, Sussex 1981.

11 *Halsbury's Statutes of England*, ed. Burrows, 2nd edn., London 1951, XXV, 14–17.

12 Paul Sheridan, *Penny Theatres of Victorian London*, London 1981, 3, 12.

13 Maurice Willson Disher, *Blood and Thunder: Mid-Victorian Melodrama and its Origins*, London 1949, 59.

14 John Adams, *Letter to the Justices of the Peace in the County of Middlesex on the subject of licences for Public Music and Dancing*, 25 Geo ii c 36, London 1850, 17–19.

15 See Summerfield, 'The Effingham Arms', 214–18.

16 See for example 'Report of a Conference between the Theatres and Music Halls Committee of the London County Council and a deputation of Managers of Theatres and Music Halls held . . . 20 November 1889' in LCC Theatre and Music Halls Committee, 'Minutes', II, Oct. 1889–June 1890, Greater London Council Archive; House of Commons Select Committee on Theatres and Places of Entertainment, *Report*, 1892.

17 J. G. Mellor, *The Northern Music Hall*, Newcastle upon Tyne 1970; Felix Barker, *The House that Stoll Built: The story of the Coliseum Theatre*, London 1957. *The Encore*, 23 October 1902, 6, noted that Manchester justices tended to refuse licences to 'halls other than legitimate variety halls'.

18 B. S. Rowntree and G. R. Lavers, *English Life and Leisure: a social study* London 1951, 259.

19 Sheridan, *Penny Theatres*, 54, 50–2; Summerfield, 'The Effingham Arms', 214–16.

20 Sources for prices of entry here and *infra* are playbills of the halls in question unless otherwise stated. New Gaiety, Preston, see Peter Honri, *Working the Halls*, Saxon House, Hants 1973, 28–33. Two reference books, Diana Howard, *London Theatres and Music Halls 1850–1950*, Library Association,

London 1970 and L. Senelick, D. F. Cheshire and U. Schneider, *British Music Hall 1840–1923*, Conn. 1981, provide information on the location of collections of playbills.

21 Clive Barker 'The audiences of the Britannia Theatre, Hoxton', *Theatre Quarterly*, IX, summer 1979, 31, 34.

22 Harold Scott, *The Early Doors*, London 1946, Chap. VIII; Canterbury playbills.

23 F. N. Charrington, *The Battle of the Music Halls*, London 1885.

24 See, for example, F. Anstey, 'London music halls', *Harpers Monthly Magazine*, XXI, 1891, quoted by Senelick, 'Politics as Entertainment', 154. For evidence which supports the idea of multi-class audiences at halls with a wide range of admission prices see J. E. Ritchie, *The Night Side of London*, London 1858, 69–70 and 218; Dion Clayton Calthrop, *Music Hall Nights* London 1925, 2–3.

25 Typically prices reached down to 6*d* or 3*d*, but went no higher than 10*s* 6*d*. See, for example, prices of entry quoted on the playbills of Woolwich Hippodrome 1899, Kilburn Empire 1912, Holloway Empire 1901 and the Empress, Brixton 1900. Evidence on the composition of audiences at such halls can be found in Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, London 1902, final volume, 54, and *The Sketch*, 14 August 1907. See also Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the contest for control 1830–1885*, London 1978, 154–6.

26 Barker, 'The audiences of the Britannia', 36, 38–9.

27 J. E. Ritchie, *The Night Side of London*, London 1858, 70 and new edition, revised and enlarged, London 1869, 232.

28 In an earlier piece of research on London music halls, 'The imperial idea and the music hall', University of Sussex BA dissertation, 1973, I referred to halls attracting a social cross-section as 'Category A', later suburban developments with a more limited mix as 'Category B', and exclusively working-class places of entertainment as 'Category C'. I have chosen here not to represent the three categories in this way, which I now regard as clumsy, but simply to describe the type of hall I am discussing. Douglas Reid's work can be found in David Bradby *et al.* (eds), *Performance and Politics in Popular Drama*, Cambridge 1980.

29 John M. Robertson, *Patriotism and Empire*, London 1899, e.g. 138: 'Patriotism, conventionally defined as love of country, now turns out rather more obviously to stand for love of more country'.

30 See L. C. B. Seaman, *Victorian England: Aspects of English and Imperial History 1837–1901*, London 1973, 210–19.

31 G. W. Hunt, *Macdermott's War Song*, London *c*. 1875. The real motive behind threatening Russia with war is unblushingly declared in verse two: 'Of carnage and of trickery they'll have sufficient feast, / Ere they dare to think of coming near our Road unto the East'.

32 MacQueen-Pope, *The Melodies Linger On*, 416. (H. Chance Newton, *Idols of the 'Halls': Being My Music Hall Memories*, Wakefield 1975, 81, claims Macdermott paid only one guinea for the song.)

33 MacQueen-Pope, *The Melodies Linger On*, 318–19.

34 J. B. Booth, *The Days we Knew*, London 1943, 36.

35 *East London Observer*, April 20–June 1, 1878; Mellor, *The Northern music Hall*, 49, 58–9; MacQueen-Pope, *The Melodies Linger On*, 319.

36 Booth, *The Days We Knew*, 36; Scott, *The Early Doors*, 170; MacQueen-Pope, *The Melodies Linger On*, 319.

37 Christopher Pulling, *They Were Singing And What They sang about*, London 1952, 185; Booth, *The Days We Knew*, 36.

38 MacQueen-Pope, *The Melodies Linger On*, 185.

39 Oxford Playbill, July 1878; Clement Scott, 'True Blues, Stand to Your Guns', quoted by Peter Davison, 'A Briton True? A short account of patriotic songs and verse as popular entertainment', *Alta, The University of Birmingham Review*, II, spring 1970, 214.

40 *The Oxford, A Weekly Musical and Dramatic Record*, 27 February 1871.

41 Alhambra Programme, February 1872.

42 On Victorian renderings of 'Rule Britannia' see Davison, 'A Briton True?', 216. He argues that slight changes in the punctuation and wording of the song during 'Victorian times' made the song 'assertive' rather than 'hortative'.

43 Canterbury programmes, 1871–80.

44 H. Clendon and H. Nicholls, 'It's all explained in this', London 1882.

45 George Le Brunn and Wal Pink, 'The Seventh Royal Fusiliers, A Story of Inkerman', London 1892.

46 G. W. Hunt, 'If England to Herself be True', *The Oxford*, January 1879.

47 'Britannia, an entirely new and original entertainment, written and produced by Paul Valentine, music by William Corri', Oxford Programme, 24 October 1885.

48 British Sessional Papers, House of Commons, *Minutes of Proceedings of the Colonial Conference*, 1887, 5. Address by the Marquis of Salisbury, Prime Minister.

49 Honri, *Working the Halls*, 67, explains the investment in this type of sketch.

50 Alhambra Programmes, 1880–1900.

51 Empire Programmes, 1890–1902.

52 Empire Programme, 3 November 1902.

53 Quoted by Booth, *The Days We Knew*, 39. I have been unable to trace this song in the British Library Music Catalogue, and therefore cannot give the date of publication.

54 A song in 'Indianationality', entitled 'Boy's Coker Nut Song', contained the following verse:

> When Sahib beat Bengalee man, Ohey, Ohey O!
> He catch it warm from cane rattan, Ohey, Ohey O!
> When Sahib give Bengalee pice,
> He fill him full of curry and rice.
> And then he go to sleep so nice.
> When the moon shines down.

The Oxford, January 1879.

55 See, for example, G. W. Hunt, 'The Time is Coming', London 1885; G. Le Brunn and F. C. Smale, 'Kruger's Dinner Party; or we'll be there' London 1899.

56 Honri, *Working the Halls*, 154 for an explanation of 'revue'.

57 House of Commons Select Committee on Theatres and Places of Entertainment, *Report*, 1892, Appendix 3.

58 Honri, *Working the Halls*, 187.

59 Maurice Willson Disher, *Blood and Thunder: Mid-Victorian Melodrama and its Origins*, London 1949, 53–4.

60 Michael R. Booth, *English Melodrama*, London, 1965, 93.

61 Bower Music Hall Playbills 1870–77.

62 Pavilion Playbills, 1878: *East London Observer*, weekly advertisements 1870,

1878; Sheridan, *Penny Theatres*, 90, Daniel Farson, *Marie Lloyd and Music Hall*, London 1972, 31.

63 Michael Booth (ed.), *Hiss the Villain: Six English and American Melodramas*, London 1964, 87–144.

64 Booth, *Hiss the Villain*, 122.

65 Booth, *English Melodrama*, 100.

66 Willson Disher, *Blood and Thunder*, 109 and 155. Davison, 'A Briton True?', 213–14, quotes some early nineteenth-century street ballads which contain the same ethos, e.g. 'Albion's Isle' (1826): 'The poor wretched slave is unshackled and free / The moment he touches our land'. Senelick, 'Politics as entertainment', 152 suggests that street ballads were overtaken commercially by collections of songs printed cheaply for use in saloons, and by the subsequent tendency for songwriters to sell their songs to specific artists.

67 See for example Clifford Musgrave, *Life in Brighton From Earliest Times to the Present*, London, 1970, 305–11, on the struggle between Ginnet's Hippodrome, Brighton, and the Theatre Royal.

68 LCC Theatre and Music Halls Committee, 'Minutes', II, Report of a Conference . . ., 20 November 1889, 17.

69 For dates of closure of London theatres see Howard, *London Threatres and Music Halls*. On Glasgow see Mellor, *The Northern Music Hall*, 50 and 55.

70 Booth, *English Melodrama*, 174.

71 Laurence Thompson, *Robert Blatchford, Portrait of an Englishman*, London 1951, 210. Blatchford wrote, in 1908: '. . . imperialism without militarism is impossible. Without arms you cannot hold the dominant place in an armed world. You cannot rob other people and hold the loot by means of sermons on brotherhood and prayers for peace . . . I am a Little Englander . . . But I recognise that to lose the Empire, to be attacked and defeated, would be a bloody, a ruinous and horrible business.'

72 Willson Disher, *Blood and Thunder*, 106–9, 153–5, 244–53.

73 See Pulling, *They were Singing*, 203–4.

74 Will J. Godwin, 'The Miner's Dream of Home', London 1891; Bennett Scott, 'I've Made Up My Mind to Sail Away', Francis and Day's Musical Bon-Bons, No. 24, 1902; Fred Davis, 'Black Sheep of the Family', quoted by Colin MacInnes, *Sweet Saturday Night: Pop Song 1840–1920*, London 1969, 61. This contained the words 'I'll go out to the colonies, / And there I'll rise or fall . . . / And when I come back, / The sheep that was black / Will perhaps be the whitest sheep of all'.

75 *East London Observer*, notices on 9 February 1878, 5 January 1878, 2 March 1878 referring to 7th Tower Hamlets Rifle Volunteers' Entertainment, Bow and Bromley Institute and Hackney Club and Institute.

76 Leslie Stuart, 'Soldiers of the Queen', London 1896. This is the earliest edition held in the British Library. Pulling, *They Were Singing*, 79, says Stuart wrote it in 1881.

77 Pulling, *They Were Singing*, 79. It was later included in Noel Coward's 'Cavalcade', London 1931, which perpetuated its fame; Lewis Winstock, *Songs and Music of the Redcoats, A History of War Music of the British Army 1642–1902*, London 1970, 252, attests to the popularity of the song among the troops.

78 Felix MacGlennon, 'Sons of the Sea', London 1897.

79 Arthur Sullivan, 'The Absent Minded Beggar', words by Rudyard Kipling, facsimile edition, London 1899.

80 Sidney Jones, 'Private Tommy Atkins' in 'A Gaiety Girl', libretto and lyrics by Harry Greenbank, London 1894. Rudyard Kipling's poem 'Tommy' preceded this by two years. 'O' it's 'Tommy this an' Tommy that, an' Tommy, go away'; / But it's 'Thank you, Mister Atkins', when the band begins to play'. The use of the phrase dates from 1815 when 'Thomas Atkins was the name used in the specimen form, accompanying the official manual issued to all army recruits, supplied to show them how their own form requiring details of name, age, date of enlistment, etc., should be filled in'. See *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* London 1981, 1124.

81 George M. Cohan, 'Tommy Atkins You're All Right', New York 1908. Another similar song is J. R. Hall, 'Tommy Atkins', London 1918.

82 Dick Coleman, 'Tommy Atkins You're All Right', 1916. See also George S. Hyde and Miriam K. Flynn, 'Tommy Atkins Good-bye', Framington, Mass. 1915, which is on the same theme but has even fewer references to Tommy Atkins' actual political circumstances.

83 Charles K. Harris, 'Break the News to Mother', Toronto 1898; Paul Barnes, 'Good-bye Dolly Gray', words by W. D. Cobb, Toronto 1900–1: 'I have come to say goodbye, Dolly Gray. / It's no use to ask me why, Dolly Gray. / There's a murmur in the air / you can hear it ev'ry where, / It is time to do and dare, Dolly Gray.'

84 Willson Disher, *Blood and Thunder*, 59–60.

85 W. C. Levey, 'Here Stands a Post', words by Clement Scott, London 1878; J. MacNicoll and J. Harrington Young, 'The Old Tattered Flag', London 1887.

86 Kenneth Lyle, 'Jolly Good Luck to the Girl who loves a Soldier!', words by Fred W. Leigh, London 1907. MacQueen Pope, *The Melodies Linger On*, 202 and Pulling, *They Were Singing*, 80, confusingly attribute the song to Tilley's husband, Walter de Frece. Tilley glamorised the soldier in an even more pressing way in Leslie Stuart's song 'I want to be a Military Man', London 1914. 'Oh the man that's dressed as usual / Is out of it today / For a regular dandy man / No single woman cares / She won't look upon your suit, or you, / I've heard the worldly say / Till you've donned the garb that Tommy Atkins wears . . . *Refrain*: I want to join the military-tary / I've got no chance with Jane or Flo or Mary; / I want to hear the martial rat-a-plan / I want to be a military man'. Bennett Scott, 'Ship Ahoy' (All the Nice Girls Love a Sailor) words by A. J. Mills, London 1909.

87 Scott, 'Ship Ahoy'.

88 Farson, *Marie Lloyd*, 139–43.

89 Henry Pettitt, 'I ain't a Briton True', quoted by Davison, 'A Briton True?', 216. He dates it 1878.

90 For example, Campbell's version of 'The Miner's Dream of Home' tells how 'pa was boozing nightly and his mother was shifting the gin, / while the lodger was taking the old gal out and the old man in'. Quoted by MacQueen-Pope, *The Melodies Linger On*, 320.

91 See MacQueen-Pope, *The Melodies Linger On*, 318–19 and Davison, 'A Briton True?', 216. W. H. Hunt later wrote a song for Campbell with a title that was possibly intentionally ironic: 'Serve Him Right! or a Good Job Too', London 1882.

92 Charles Chilton, *Victorian Folk Songs*, London 1965, 86–7. For 'Ben Battle' see 92–3. Unfortunately Chilton edited the songs and does not state the original sources.

93 Both these songs are quoted by Pulling, *They Were Singing*, 80 and 81.

94 Major H. Corbyn, 'Riding in the Ammunition Van', quoted by Winstock, *Songs and Music of the British Redcoats*, 242.

95 Jack Judge and Harry Williams, 'It's a Long, Long Way to Tipperary', London 1912.
96 Pulling, *They Were Singing*, 81.
97 Felix Powell, 'Pack Up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag', words by G. Asaf, New York 1918.
98 Charles Barnard, 'Tommy Atkins saved his Empire from the Hun', London 1917.
99 The same must surely be true of 'Tommy's Army' by A. W. Marchant, Philadelphia 1915, about one hundred 'little lead soldiers, gallant and true': 'I'd like to be a soldier / And wear the red and blue, / I suppose the shots don't hurt as much / As people say they do'.
100 Honri, *Working the Halls*, 154. See also Pulling, *They Were Singing*, 82.
101 All the same, the extent of social mixing may have varied greatly, as between theatres of variety in the heart of large cities like London, Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow, and those in their suburbs, in spite of the consistency of the policy developed by the proprietors of theatre chains. This is obviously an area needing more research.

CHAPTER 3

'UP GUARDS AND AT THEM!' BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND POPULAR ART, 1880–1914

John Springhall

Historians who attempt to interpret the incredible expansion of Europe overseas in the late nineteenth century and after have concentrated largely on unromantic political and economic factors. The fundamental causes of the new imperialism have been located in the demand for raw materials, the availability of surplus capital for overseas investment or in the stirrings of an emergent nationalism. Among such weighty historical factors, little attention has been paid until recently to those forces which John Hobson believed were responsible for imperialism's successful hold on the public imagination: 'hero-worship and sensational glory, adventure and the sporting spirit: current history falsified in coarse flaring colours, for the direct stimulation of the combative instincts'. If the idea of Empire was to be sold to the great British public, in other words, then the propaganda appeal of lonely exploration along African rivers, of missionaries converting the heathen or, more importantly, of heroic military exploits, was obviously far greater than that of shareholders investing capital in chartered companies or of politicians haggling with rival powers over treaty boundaries. It was no accident that the 'little wars' of Empire, which took place in almost every year of Queen Victoria's reign after 1870, provided the most readily available source for magazine and newspaper editors of romantic adventure and heroism set in an exotic and alien environment. For these small-scale military campaigns remind us that imperialism was not merely a matter of trade and diplomacy but also meant the recurrent forcible and bloody suppression of largely ineffectual native resistance. 'Imperial powers used force more often than they have been prepared to admit', as D. A. Low remarked twenty years ago.[1]

These decades saw a succession of brilliant and not so brilliant imperial campaigns, against Zulus, Ashanti, Afghans, Boers, Burmese and Sudanese, which made popular heroes of generals such as Wolseley, Buller and